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"The Great Awakening," so called, took place partly within the period embraced by this volume; but the book bears no trace of it. Massachusetts did not undertake to adjust it by any law-making. Connecticut took hold of it, and burned her fingers with a wound beyond Governor Law's surgery.

We repeat that it is impossible to speak in too high praise of the execution of this work. Of course we have not verified the correctness of the copies of the statutes, extending in the two volumes through two thousand closely printed pages. But there is every appearance of the extremest exactness in the transcription. The book contains the abundant wealth of a wide and accurate learning, and the apparatus of tables and indexes furnishes perfectly fitting keys for access to the heaped-up treasures.

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13. — *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, comprising Portions of his Diary from 1795 to 1848.* Edited by CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. Vol. III. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.

THE third volume of this work is likely to be more attractive to the general reader than either of its predecessors. Whilst the interest in the personal narrative remains about the same, the scenes and events vary more strikingly. At the close of the second volume the curtain was about to rise and display at Ghent the conclave of negotiators for a peace between Great Britain and America. The two belligerents had become pretty equally tired of a needless and unprofitable war. But there was still doubt whether the pride of either was so much reduced as to bring about works of repentance. Great Britain, though much exhausted by the great continental struggle, had come out of it with honor, and was therefore not unlikely to indulge its wonted arrogance in dealing with a power incomparably inferior to that which it had just helped to overcome. On the other hand, the United States government had succeeded so far beyond their fears, especially on the ocean, that they were by no means inclined to submit to the dictation of terms likely to entail upon them anything like discredit with the great body of their people. Hence on both sides the assemblage was felt to be a critical experiment.

There was, however, a wide difference in the attitude of the respective negotiators. With the British little or no personal responsibility was attached to their action. They were within easy reach of their masters in London. The distance from Ghent to that metropolis was quickly traversed even in that day when railroads and elec-

tric telegraphs had not yet appeared to annihilate space and time. Hence their action could be firm and well defined. The case with the Americans was not so favorable. They were tied up by specific instructions from which they could vary only at their own peril. They could not with any reason ask a delay for reference home in doubtful cases, because no dependence could be placed upon the extent to which the negotiation might be delayed thereby. Moreover, there was little common ground among the five members that might be depended on to secure unity in assuming responsibility for any departure from the prescribed policy. Some of these were exponents of local interests at home, too, which were not felt to be of equal importance by the others, and hence strife might easily spring up, touching the relative degrees of support or abandonment in any particular case. It is not easy to conceive a more delicate relation between these five negotiators at the moment when they were called to encounter this onerous responsibility.

A clear picture of this state of things is for the first time presented to public view in the chapter on the negotiation, making the first of the present volume. Plural commissioners to negotiate are always more or less dangerous. Yet it has ever been the practice of our government to resort to them in all emergencies. So it was with the first great instance in 1782, touching which it will ever be a marvel that it should have terminated so happily for us. So it was in the case of the mission to France in 1797, where crafty manipulation overreached itself in its operations on the simple-minded honesty of the American envoys. But it brought nothing to pass. Taught by this experience of the dangers of differing, the third commission, sent in 1800, escaped the trial and seized the chances that secured success. In this last instance it was the Senate that blundered, and not the negotiators. The general conclusion to be drawn is, that commissions of negotiators sent beyond the reach of governmental direction have always been more or less ticklish experiments. The danger is now happily removed by the use of the magnetic telegraph; yet the importance of the envoy has declined in the same ratio. He is now scarcely more than a machine. It was not so in August, 1814, when the five American citizens met so far from home with the issue of peace or war almost entirely in their hands.

The selection of the persons for this critical duty was on the whole judicious. They represented the different sections of the country satisfactorily enough, with a single exception. Two out of five were from Massachusetts, while there was no one to speak for the Southern

States. There seems to have been no particular call for the addition of Mr. Russell in the East on the one side, whilst the selection of Mr. Lowndes or of Mr. Calhoun from the South would have at once given greater weight of character on the other. Yet as it was, in point of general suitability there could be no cause of complaint. The nomination of Mr. Adams at the head of the commission was doubtless due to his long experience in the diplomatic service, and especially to his labors in Russia, but it clearly appears to have given rise to most of the jealousies and heart-burning elicited by the negotiation. The service of two of the members had commenced earlier and been more full of responsibility. If we can trust the record here made, though Mr. Adams was the chief delineator of the policy, Mr. Gallatin appears to have been far the most flexible and adroit manager of the details of the negotiation. It may well be doubted whether without him the discordant material in the commission would have worked out its happy result. There can be no doubt that the seeds were here laid of the controversy which burst out with so much fury ten years later in America, and ended so unfortunately for Mr. Russell. Perhaps the sequel of the story will find its place somewhere in the later part of this work. The attitude of Mr. Clay as an exponent of Western sentiment, in offset to that of New England, is salient enough. The elements of character here displayed are just those which made at once the strength and the weakness of his public career down to its very end.

But, whatever may have been the differences pending between the members of this commission, these did not prevent them from keeping clearly before their eyes the main object for which they were sent, — the attainment of an honorable peace. The fact that it was made on the basis of the *statu quo* did not deter them from initiating it at the risk of their reputation at home, even before they got the express authority then on its way from the government itself. Some reproach has been cast upon Mr. Madison for his consent to leave unsettled all the grievances upon which the war had been originally based. This is utterly without shadow of justice. Never was a war more justified by the happy results that flowed from it in tacitly removing the chief grounds of complaint which had made peace incompatible with public honor. The fact is patent that, whereas American seamen previous to the war had been impressed by thousands in accordance with a settled practice dating from the first Treaty of 1783, ever since the Peace of Ghent not a case of grievance has been brought forward. From that date the bearing of the government of Great Britain has been changed, and courtesy has become the rule instead of the excep-

tion. If there be superficial observers at this day still inclined to reproach Mr. Madison for what was called his war, it is only because the bitterness of party resentments will survive through many generations, in despite of all the evidence that can be supplied to establish the truth. In point of fact, a trial of strength was indispensable to make the United States respected by their old master. When it at last came, and the growing youth showed he had pluck and could hit hard, it became pretty clear that it was not worth while to irritate him merely for the fun of it, and at the price of a pretty long bill of costs.

From these grave scenes of diplomatic contention we are next transferred in another chapter to gay and restless Paris. The pacification of Europe resting on the expulsion of Napoleon from power, and the restoration of the old royal family of France, were visibly trembling on their feeble foundations in the good-will of the nation. It is interesting to perceive the gradual process of conflicting emotions in the capital as observed from day to day by the writer. At last came back the lone exile, and in the face of hostile Europe resumed his authority without the firing of a shot. Was there ever a scene like this on any equally great theatre since the world was made? Before this last pageant closed, Mr. Adams, who recorded his observations from day to day, was called off to other duties as envoy extraordinary to the Court of London. His account of his residence in that capacity for two years is found in the third and last chapter. In some respects there was a great analogy between his position and that of his father just thirty years before. Both of them came immediately at the close of a negotiation for peace, and after a war which they as public men had contributed to bring on. George the Third had ceased to occupy the place where he could manifest his spite by turning his back on the minister, it is true; but if George the Fourth abstained from any outward sign, it was equally plain that he was as indifferent as only Englishmen know how to be, when they choose. It must be admitted, however, that the foreign secretary, Lord Castlereagh, did not forget his appointment with Mr. Adams, as Lord Grenville had done twenty years before, and the altered tone of the conferences indicated a better disposition to friendly negotiation on points left unadjusted by the treaty. How different from the tone of Canning and the Orders in Council! Intermixed with official conversations come, here and there, reports of private dialogues with noted persons like Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Holland, General Dumouriez, Jeremy Bentham, and Place the tailor, which serve to relieve the text from its general ten-

dency to become exclusively political. With this volume terminates the record of sixteen years passed in diplomatic life in Europe, most of it in the midst of violent public commotion. For the future Mr. Adams must be seen only at home in times of peace, where we know more about his doings already. The life of thirty remaining years will therefore be doubtless of a somewhat different character. Yet the characteristic features of the man as already developed are scarcely likely to change. It is the story of a busy career told with more continuity and minuteness than probably that of any other eminent statesman on record. To many of the community it may probably serve as primary instruction in a considerable portion of our annals now pretty generally neglected.

14. — 1. *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Junior, of Massachusetts: 1744–1775.* By his Son, JOSIAH QUINCY. Second edition. Boston: Press of John Wilson and Son. 1874.
2. *Life of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts.* By his Son, EDMUND QUINCY. Sixth edition. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1874.
3. *Speeches delivered in the Congress of the United States.* By JOSIAH QUINCY. 1805–1813. Edited by his Son, EDMUND QUINCY. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1874.

IN these books the public has at last the advantage of possessing a uniform and excellent edition of the memoirs and personal remains of the two Quincys. There is, it is true, nothing in these three volumes which is new, except the title-pages. There is nothing, therefore, to justify an extended criticism, or to call for renewed examination, so far at least as the separate volumes are concerned. Yet taking them together, as a series, their appearance in this new form may be said to create almost a new work.

The "Saturday Review," or some such English periodical, in noticing, not long since, the new Memoirs of Mr. J. Q. Adams, informed its readers, with its usual depth of study and zeal for sound information, that the Adams family was the only one in all America which could be considered as a family at all, in the English sense of the term. Never was there a grosser misconception of the society which the reviewer attempted to describe. From a Massachusetts point of view, the Adamses are hardly a family at all; they are a creation of yesterday, barely a century old. The Quincys are, strictly speaking, an old family. They belonged to the colonial aristocracy. The first Edmund Quincy came to Boston with John Cotton in 1633. From